

Heat Wave Death Toll Rose to 468—No Relief Still in Sight for Drought stricken People

Several states of India have been in the grip of drought. According to the latest official figures available at least 468 persons, including a large number of children have died under the heat wave all over the country. Death toll in Bihar alone rose to 272 and it is reported that a third of the victims are children.

Death toll in other states are 111 in U.P., 34 in West Bengal, 4 each in Andhra and Orissa, 2 each in Rajasthan. Himachalpradesh and Maharastra and 1 in Punjab. Reports received from Rourkela stated that the steel town of Rourkela was experiencing scarcity of water and there was no water supply for some days to the steel town. The heat wave victims in the Mokameh Barauni industrial belt included 35 children. About 500 children have had sun stroke in this belt and 150 of them have been admitted in different health centres for treatment. The main sources of water which are, indeed, very scanty even in normal times have completely dried up. Most of the wells, ponds

and tanks in these states have completely dried up and the people are depending only on a few wells that have still some water in them. Water sources in several places around the pilgrim town of Bhadrachalam dried up and tribals were walking miles together for a pot of water. In Purulia town in West Bengal a bucket of water is being sold at 60 paise per bucket. The situation in Shahabad, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Gaya, Patna and Santal Parganas in Bihar and Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan in West Bengal is extremely serious.

The fate of the Indian people is still at the mercy of nature after 25 years of independence. Whenever

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there is above normal rainfall the people become victims of flood and whenever it does not rain people die due to drought. During the last 25 years of the Congress rule no effective steps have been taken to

combat these vagaries of nature. If the Congress Government could have implemented the flood control schemes and arranged to store the excess run off, then the flood could have been
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Appeal for Com. Ghosh's Treatment Fund

Dear Comrades and Friends,

You are aware that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our most beloved leader, teacher, General Secretary of our Party, is seriously ill. Though slow but definite indications of improvement in his health condition are noticeable, the nature of the ailment, in the opinion of eminent physicians attending him, requires best possible medical treatment and nursing for a prolonged period. One certainly realizes, how highly expensive it at present is in our country inspite of free medical consultations. Nevertheless, to save the most precious life of our most beloved leader, we have arranged for his best medical treatment and nursing available in Calcutta. We are confident that all the workers, supporters and sympathisers of our Party and the masses of the people will stand united as one man at this critical time of the Party and help it by all means so that the Party can overcome successfully the difficulties. It is gratifying to note that as true disciples of Comrade Ghosh, comrades of all the States and Units have correctly and timely responded to the call of the Party to Comrade Ghosh's Treatment Fund at this hour of great concern by contributing even their entire monthly salaries, ornaments belonging to them etc. These contributions by them are thankfully acknowledged. But more money is needed immediately. It is, therefore, our fervent appeal that all our workers, supporters and sympathisers and the masses of the people should explore all avenues even to the extent of straining their individual resources and immediately send maximum amount of contributions to the Treatment Fund at the address of the Central Office of the Party.

With revolutionary greetings,

Dated—48, Lenin Sarani
(Dharmatala Street),
Calcutta—13
The 30th May, 1972

Comradely yours,
Sd/- Nihar Mukherjee
on behalf of the
Central Committee of the SUCI

Com. Ghosh's Health Bulletin

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher, General Secretary of our Party, was attacked with chicken pox on 24th April last followed by most severe virus infection leading to serious and acute neurological complications. Complications continued to develop and his condition became dangerously alarming. Having failed to get him admitted in any hospital with arrangements for proper medical treatment, Comrade Ghosh, under medical advice, was removed to Woodlands Nursing Home, Calcutta, on 10th May last. He is still there and is under the treatment of eminent neuro-physician, Dr. Anupam Das Gupta. Eminent thoracic surgeon, Dr. Satyen Basu Roy and eminent ophthalmologist, Dr. N. Basu are also being consulted as and when considered necessary by Dr. Das Gupta. Slow but definite indications of improvement in his health condition are noticeable. But it is the considered advice of the doctors that Com. Ghosh will have to undergo a prolonged medical treatment and nursing of high order for complete recovery.

Dated the 30th May, 1972

NIHAR MUKHERJEE
on behalf of the
Central Committee of the SUCI

Com. Subodh Banerjee's Address at the Second Asian Trade Union Seminar held in New Delhi

The Second Asian Trade Union Seminar was held at New Delhi from 24th to 28th April 1972, both days inclusive. Forty-three delegates from Australia, Bangladesh, Ceylon, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Nepal and India representing twenty-three national centres and industrial federations of trade unions participated in the Seminar. Representatives from the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR, German Democratic Republic and the World Federation of Trade Unions, who were specially invited, also took part in the deliberations of the Seminar. Messages wishing success of the Seminar were sent by trade union centres of New Zealand and Singapore.

On behalf of the United Trades Union Congress (Lenin Sarani) Com. Subodh Banerjee took part in the Seminar. The Seminar discussed three issues, namely, (1) industrialization and growth of monopoly, (2) problems of wages, price, inflation and employment and (3) working class struggles and role of trade unions. Summary of Com. Banerjee's speech on the issues are given below.

Com. Banerjee's Speech

The Second Asian Trade Union Seminar is to deal with three important current topics facing the trade union movement in our country. With the time at my disposal, it will not be possible for me to discuss exhaustively all the issues. I shall, therefore, confine myself to some of the issues, dealing some in detail, others just touching.

The first issue is industrialization and growth of monopoly. The attitude of the trade union movement towards industrialization is too well-known. The working class in India and their trade unions, like their counterparts elsewhere, want rapid industrialization of the country. The rest of our people also want it. It is true that since India has attained national independence, there has been some industrial development which

was impossible under the old colonial rule of the British imperialists. Several iron and steel plants, machine building factories, mining and heavy electrical goods producing factories, fertiliser plants, etc. etc. have been established. But it cannot also be denied that our country is not making headway in the matter of industrialization at the rate it should. And in fact, industrialization is just limping in place of making rapid progress, a fact glaringly established by rate of growth of industrial product. A review of industrial production for the period from 1961 to 1970 reveals that while the rate of growth of industrial production in the first quinquennium (1961 to 1965) had been 10·8 per cent, in the second quinquennium from 1966 to 1970 it dropped down to 3·8 per cent only. In 1971 it still came down, the estimated growth rate being 2 per cent.

But what accounts for this slow growth rate? Delegates from abroad might be knowing that India is a capitalist country. In the present era, more so in the post-second world war phase, rapid and steady industrial development under capitalism is impossible. For, it is well-known that capitalist production is based on market, the

motive force of production being maximum profit of the handful of capitalists and not maximum satisfaction of material and cultural needs of the people. In their drive for monopoly by ousting their respective competitors from market and thereby to secure maximum profit, capitalists improve technique of production, introduce new innovations and large-scale production, expand production and actually produce huge quantity of commodities. But as the people are subjected to exploitation under capitalism, they remain in a state of relative poverty, resulting in relative lack of demand for goods produced in society. Since expansion of capitalist production all the time encounters the narrow limits of consumption by the people, production in capitalist society always runs ahead of consumption. The outcome of it is periodic outbreak of capitalist crisis of so-called over-production.

It should, however, be realized that the crisis present-day capitalism has been suffering from is somewhat different from earlier crisis. As pointed out by Lenin, capitalism upto the first world war, notwithstanding crisis, was developing far more rapidly than before. Even in the period of its general crisis world capitalist economy enjoyed relative stability of market till the second world war. But thereafter due to emergence of world socialist market and consequent enormous shrinkage of world capitalist market, attainment of political independence of colonial countries and reconstruction of national economy of the ruling bourgeoisie of the former colonial countries and increasing economic aid and assistance given by the socialist countries to these developing countries in re-

constructing their respective national economy, world capitalist economy has lost even that relative stability of market. As a result, the tendency of decay and stagnation in capitalist economy has become more pronounced and crisis has become more frequent, affecting increasingly larger number of industries and continuing for longer periods. To stem the tide of mounting crisis, artificial stimulation to economy through more and more orders by the capitalist state for increased military production is being given. But this artificial stimulation, in place of easing the crisis, is on the contrary, intensifying it which in its wake is further militarizing the economy. Thus, a vicious circle leading to arms race is being created. But unless arms thus produced and stock-piled are consumed, flow of continuous military production cannot be maintained. So, imperialists capitalists are creating international tension and starting localized partial wars wherever and whenever possible. Capitalism has, thus, become not only an anachronistic order bringing in periodic crisis and insecurity in the life of the people but definite danger plunging the peoples of different countries into wars as well.

In the midst of this crisis of world capitalist economy of which capitalist economy of our country is part and parcel the ruling bourgeoisie, in order to make India an economically and militarily strong capitalist country, is seeking to achieve rapid industrialization. But due to their failure to introduce radical land reforms, the entire peasantry (with the sole exception of the rich peasants, the Kulaks) and the agricultural labourers who together constitute about two-thirds of the total population are in a state of utter pauperization. The workers and persons

Capitalist Economy Basic Cause for Sluggish Economic Growth of our Country

belonging to lower middle class in urban areas are not in much better position owing to unbelievably low wages, extortionate taxation on consumer goods, ever-soaring prices of essential commodities, etc. With 40 per cent of the total population living below poverty level and another 40 per cent on the poverty level—this assessment has been made by a renowned economist in our country—the home market in India cannot but be extremely contracted. Foreign market offers no better prospect either, as it is controlled by powerful imperialists to oust whom from market is beyond the competitive power of India capitalists. It is for this reason that the little industrial development which India has succeeded in achieving is already, as observed by Com. Shibdas Ghosh, President of our UTUC, “associated with a shadow of crisis” when it has become, so to say, impossible to keep the existing industries running and fully utilize their installed capacities, not to speak of rapidly industrializing the country and carrying out industrial revolution.

Brother delegates from abroad may be surprised to know that there were about 3000 closed industrial establishments in our country on the 31st March, 1971. This is the latest official figure about closed industrial units. They may also be surprised to know that most of the industries in our country are working much below their installed capacities. To illustrate, according to the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries, an organisation of monopolists, in some of the branches of engineering industry idle capacity was as high as 60 per cent of the total. The cotton textile industry is in no better position. Jute

mills have sealed more than 30 per cent of their looms. I need not multiply instances. I am not in a position to give you off-hand the total number of workers who have become unemployed because of closure of industrial units and non-utilization of installed capacities. But it can be said without any fear of being contradicted that their number will in no case be less than seven to ten lakhs. It is true that bad management, quarrel among the partners, shortage of raw materials, paucity of liquid cash, greed for super-profit, attempt to evade payment of taxes to the government and lawful dues to workers and to defraud share-holders etc. account for closure of many industrial units. They are individual reasons and are not basically responsible for the economic crisis India is passing through. The UTUC (Lenin Sarani) is convinced that for the economic crisis and for the matter of that the slow rate of economic growth and industrialization the present capitalist economy of the country is basically responsible.

It is high time for our trade unions to say openly and convince the working class that capitalism is no longer capable of carrying out industrial revolution in our country and that it is only when capitalist order will be overthrown and socialism established, the door of uninterrupted and rapid industrial development and social progress will be opened. It does not, of course, mean that under the existing capitalist order in our country there will not be any industrial development. There certainly will be established industrial concerns but industrialization will be halting marked by chaos and crisis, tendency of

decay and stagnation becoming more pronounced. I want to make another point clear here. Trade unions demand nationalization of industries. The demand is, of course, just and correct. Our UTUC also is conducting movements for the nationalization of all key, basic and heavy industries. It will continue to do so till this demand of the working people is met. But it should be borne in mind that under capitalism nationalization of industries by the state is not socialism, as some trade unionists and bourgeois apologists in our country very often preach. Nationalization of industries by the capitalist state does not change the capitalist relations of production or the capitalist motive force of production. By state ownership the means of production do not lose their character as capital; only in place of individual capitalist owners, the capitalist state becomes the owner. And the more productive forces does it take over, the more aggregate capitalist does the state become, the more citizens does it exploit, as told by Engels many many years back. The capitalist state nationalizes industries in the aggregate interests of national capital in the country concerned and not in the interest of the working people there.

Why then do we demand nationalization of industries under capitalism? Firstly, the demand for nationalization of industries by workers and other sections of the people engaged in struggles for overthrowing the existing capitalist order is a recognition of the necessity of attaining another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself, a task the working people themselves will have to do

after the bourgeoisie is overthrown for the establishment of socialism. Secondly, if industries are nationalized, the working class and other sections of the people will get better opportunity of learning through their own experience, while conducting day-to-day movements for the realization of ordinary democratic demands, that the state is neither supra-class nor neutral in the struggle between the exploiting bourgeoisie and the exploited people, as the bourgeois apologists propagate, but, on the contrary, is a definite instrument of oppression by the capitalist class of the exploited people. This experience helps the working class in getting their illusion about state dispelled. Thirdly, nationalization of industries will create the precondition for intensifying democratic movements of the masses against black-marketeers, speculators, hoarders, etc. and the capitalist state and thereby reducing to some extent the anti-social speculative acts of private entrepreneurs. Fourthly, advantages of organising and uniting workers industry-wise and of conducting industry-wise movements by workers, coming under one employer, namely, the state, are also there. These considerations, among others, lead the revolutionary working class to conduct movements for nationalization of key and large-scale industries even under capitalism.

Now a few words about the growth of monopoly in our country. At the outset I like to make it perfectly clear that monopoly is not the individual creation of some bad super-profit hungry employers, as some Gandhian scholars try to paint. It is the inevitable outcome of the law of development of capitalist economy. No matter

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Left Front Leaders Explain Non-participation in By-elections

Joynagar Majilpur, May 21—A well-attended public meeting, organised by the Left Front to explain its decision with regard to the coming by-elections in West Bengal, was held here today under the presidentship of Shri Haribhusan Chatterjee. The meeting started with an opening song by the local unit of the Democratic Youth Organisation.

Shri Chitta Bose, Forward Bloc leader, said that under the Congress rule fascism was fast developing to resist which broadest possible unity of the left democratic forces in our country was necessary. But this unity would not be possible without giving defeat to right reformism and left sectarianism. With regard to the by-elections going to be held, Shri Bose maintained that unless the present election laws were suitably amended there was no point in contesting the elections.

Shri Provas Roy, CPM leader, in his speech mentioned the different pro-people measures adopted by the two United Front governments in the state and traced the role played by the Congress in bringing about the downfall of these governments. He said that the last general election in West Bengal was entirely rigged and the left parties would not participate in the by-elections. He expressed the hope that the electors would support by appropriate actions the left parties' stand of not participating in the by-elections.

Com. Subodh Banerjee, SUC leader, who was the main speaker in the meeting, explained with concrete instances the various methods the ruling Congress in active collaboration with the administration and the police adopted to entirely rig the last general election in West Bengal in order to **anyhow** come to governmental power. The coming by-elections were meant to fill up vacancies of

such a rigged Assembly and, therefore, there was no meaning in participating in the by-elections and sending representatives to the rigged Legislative Assembly. Com. Banerjee in course of his speech also showed with concrete instances how the ruling Congress, after coming to governmental power, was out to forcibly suppress all opposition views and mass organisations of workers, peasants, students, youths, etc. led by left democratic parties. Even the organisations led by the CPI, a partner of the ruling Congress in the PDA, were not being spared. And in fact, symptoms of administrative fascism were clearly visible in the state. He contended that so long as the ruling Congress party would continue to smother democracy by violating all democratic norms of behaviour and annihilate opposition views and organisations by carrying on fascistic attacks on them with the backing of the administration and the police, so long as administrative neutrality was not restored from the highest to the lowest Thana level, so long as the opposition parties were not allowed to carry on freely their normal political activities and they were not treated by the administration and the police on equal footing with the ruling party, there was no point in participating in the Legislative Assembly, which is an entirely rigged one, and in the coming by-elections, as there was no guarantee that the by-elections also would

not be rigged. In the prevailing situation, therefore, the left democratic parties constituting the Left Front decided not to participate in the coming by-elections. Com. Banerjee urged upon the people to prepare themselves for organised sustained movements to restore normal democratic atmosphere in West Bengal.

Earlier a resolution was unanimously adopted in the

Heat Wave Deaths

controlled and the water thus stored would have helped a lot in fighting the drought. Nothing has been done to tap the vast ground water reserves and this is even, shamelessly said in the floor of the Parliament by Mr. A. P. Shinde, Minister of State for Agriculture as reported in the Statesman dated 24.5.72. The Congress Government, which is the representative of the monopoly capitalists in our country, executed several five year plans only to serve the interest of the capitalist class and these urgent pro-people schemes were abandoned.

Even in the matter of distribution of urgent relief the Congress Government is guided by narrow partisan interests. In West Bengal the ministers are daily issuing statements and from the newspaper reports it may seem that the Government is very serious and undertaking massive relief operations in the drought-affected areas. But the picture is quite different in the field and the administration is sitting tight in the districts. Demonstrations and deputations were organised by SUC in the drought-affected areas of West Bengal but the local administrative heads flatly informed the deputationists that they were yet to get any instructions and necessary allotment of fund to undertake the relief operations. It is thus clear that the Congress Govern-

ment is only interested in meeting condemning violent attacks by the ruling Congress on workers and supporters of left democratic parties and paying homage to the memory of all such workers and supporters in general and Com. Bhabataran Adhikary, an organiser of SUCI of Bankura district, in particular who had lost their lives as a result of attacks by the ruling Congress hoodlums.

ment is only interested in propaganda. As such unless effective pressure is put on the Government through movements, it is futile to expect that this Congress Government will do anything tangible for the immediate relief which is so vital to save the lives of the needy and the poor. People, as such, must organise themselves to build up movement for pressurising the Government so that Government is forced to concede to the just demands of the people. On 10th June next under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI a big rally will be organised in the state level to demand immediate relief to the drought-affected people of West Bengal and it is expected that the people of other States will also organise themselves to force the Government for the urgent relief operations in their respective states.

May Day Observed

Marhowrah (Saran)—

May Day was observed in Marhowrah by holding a mass meeting organised under the joint auspices of Marhowrah Workers' Union (UTUC Lenin Sarani) and the Saran District Unit Socialist Unity Centre. Com. Amar Kumar Pandey, the main speaker in the meeting stressed in his speech on the need for building up united struggle of the working class against undemocratic and anti-labour practices of the employers. He urged upon all working people to rally more solidly behind the correct revolutionary leadership of the SUCI to resist the growing fascism in our country.

Veteran mass leader Shri Budhan Baba also spoke in the meeting.

Indian Capitalism Increasingly Showing Features of Imperialism

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whether the employers are good, bad or indifferent, monopoly is bound to develop under capitalism. And in our country monopoly has not only grown; it has developed greatly. According to official figures, in India, assets owned by the top 75 monopoly Houses worked out to be 53.8 per cent of the total assets of the entire private sector in 1967-68. This is the latest official figure. Since then the situation has gone further in favour of the monopolists. *Secondly*, facts bear out the truth that the growth of monopoly in India has proceeded at a very fast rate under planning—a fact taken note of by the Monopoly Enquiry Commission set up by the Government of India—with government backing, notwithstanding their lip service to the necessity of curbing monopoly. How phenomenal has been the growth of monopoly in recent years with the backing of the government will be evident from the fact that during the period of four years only from 1963-64 to 1967-68, the assets of the top 75 monopoly Houses increased from 46.9 per cent to 53.8 per cent of the total assets of the private sector. During this period, the assets of the industrial House of Mafatlal increased by 195.9 per cent, of the Birlas by 96.6 per cent, of Shri Ram by 96.4 per cent, of the Parry by 300.5 per cent, of the Mahendra and Mahendra by 155.2 per cent, of the Bajaj by 115.4 per cent, so on and so forth. These facts show that those who hold the view that the present government in our country is taking anti-monopoly measures in all seriousness are absolutely wrong. The Indian state is, in fact, actively helping in the rapid growth of monopoly in our country. *Thirdly*, not only monopoly

has appreciably developed; industrial capital has, in our country, united with banking capital and a financial oligarchy has established its dominance over the entire economy. The extent of their hold on the economy can be realised from the fact that in 1963 leading banks in the country which among themselves accounted for nearly three-fourths of the deposits of the entire private banking sector had 188 directors who in all held 1640 directorship of 1309 companies accounting for nearly 50 per cent of the total paid up capital of the entire private corporate sector. *Fourthly*, as against export of goods, Indian monopolists are exporting capital to foreign countries and setting up joint ventures there in collaboration with the native bourgeoisie. Shri L.N. Mishra, Union Minister for Foreign Trade, has, in a recent statement, said that of the 121 such approved joint ventures, 27 have already gone into production and 61 are in various stages of implementation. Indian monopolists have so far repatriated about Rs. 1.60 crores by way of dividends, managerial fee, technical know-how and royalties. A significant point that deserves to be understood is that these joint venture projects cover many industries ranging from cotton and woollen textiles and food canning to a variety of engineering goods like sewing machines, diesel engines, trucks, scooters, electric motors and transformers. More interesting is the fact that even in the developed capitalist countries of West Europe and North America projects with Indian collaboration have been set up even in fields like oil engines, asbestos cement, nylon and light engineering goods. *Fifthly*, Indian monopolists are increasingly

emerging as junior partners of international monopolies.

Lenin in his **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism** had mentioned the five features of imperialism to which the brother delegate from Japan who has spoken immediately before me has referred. I do not like to refer to them again. All that I want to point out is that Indian capitalism is increasingly showing these features of imperialism. And, as such, it will not be wrong to conclude that Indian capital has already assumed imperialist character. I had no mind to deal with this point. But since an Indian delegate has praised the 'anti-imperialist role' of the Government of India, I consider it my duty to place our view point on it. In its quest for foreign market for Indian goods as also in the matter of exploiting the natural resources and peoples of other countries, the Indian bourgeoisie is increasingly coming into conflicts with foreign imperialists. This is one aspect of the contradictions between the Indian bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists. There is a second aspect also. As India is developing more and more as an imperialist country itself, politically India is feeling more akinness to imperialism as such, a feeling of belonging to the same family with the imperialists. Thus on the one hand in the sphere of economy, to be precise, in the matter of securing foreign market for Indian goods and exploitation by Indian finance capital of foreign countries the antagonism between the Indian bourgeoisie and foreign imperialists is sharpening while, on the other hand, as India is emerging more and more as an imperialist country, politically it is feeling more akinness to imperialism as such. "The increasing closeness of the Indian state to imperialism as such

is no indication of the Indian state being a satellite to foreign imperialist Powers, as some political parties think, as the growing antagonism between the Indian state and foreign imperialists for economic reasons is no sign of the Indian bourgeoisie being truly anti-imperialist and progressive. These two are different expressions of the same complex contradictions between a developing imperialist country and already developed powerful imperialist countries", as put by our President, Com. Shibdas Ghosh.

Another point needs some discussion. I had no mind to discuss this point also. But since an Indian delegate has categorically come out with the statement that state capitalism is not growing in our country; rather, the state is playing an anti-monopolist role, I consider it my duty to place our views on the question. We definitely hold the view that state capitalism is developing in our country through the coalescence of the state with private monopoly capitalism and thereby increasingly subjugating the state to monopoly interests. The proposal to start holding companies by the state in collaboration with private monopolists (the proposal to start a holding company with the Tatas and the Hindustan Steel Ltd., over not only steel plants but also the coking coal mines and iron ore mines), the starting of joint-sector by the state in collaboration with the big monopoly Houses, the granting of loans by the state financial agencies like the nationalized banks, LIC, Industrial Finance Corporation, etc., etc., to the private monopolies, conversion of such loans into equity and joint ownership of the concerns by the state and private monopolists and a variety of other measures provide the means through which the coalescence between the Indian state with private monopolists is being

Real Wages of Workers in the Decline Since Independence

achieved. And that the state is being increasingly subjugated to the interests of the monopolists is as clear as day light. The phenomenal growth and development of big monopoly Houses with the backing of the Indian state to which I have already referred in my speech is an indication of the state's pro-monopoly role. The recent utterances against monopoly by some ministers and ruling Congress leaders are only an eye-wash to befool the working people. And if enactment of so-called anti-monopoly laws is assumed as an anti-monopoly role of the government to curb monopoly then the USA also is to be taken as a state playing an anti-monopoly role, as it has also anti-trust laws which are more stringent than ours. But the reality is that, as the mere existence of anti-trust laws does not make the USA an anti-monopolist state, the existence of anti-monopoly laws in our country by itself does not establish that the Indian state is playing an anti-monopolist role.

Another word and I finish this portion of my speech. One brother delegate has asked me if we believe that fascism is developing in India, as we hold the view that state monopoly capitalism, which is the economic foundation stone of fascism, is making headway here. This is not the proper forum to deal with the question nor do we have enough time to discuss it in enough detail so as to do justice to the question. Still as I have been asked, I shall tell you in the briefest possible way what our reading is. We hold that through the development of state monopoly capitalism economic foundation of fascism in our country is being laid reflection of which is being marked in more and more concentration of political power in the hands

of the state and more rigidity in administration coupled with more intense drive by the ruling Indian bourgeoisie to regiment the thinking of the people in a particular way conducive to the growth of fascist culture by fusion of spiritualism and various forms of obscurantism with the technological aspect of science. In fact, symptoms of administrative fascism are fast appearing in our country. It is, however, true that small production still playing a significant role in the total economy of the country and consequently regional bourgeois interests still raising their heads, the grounds for all out development of fascism are still not completely clear in our country.

Let me now turn to the second issue for discussion by the Seminar, namely, problems of wages, price, inflation and employment. These matters have been elaborately discussed by other friends. I, therefore, do not intend to deal with them in detail. I shall try to limit myself to some observations concerning the question. It is an undeniable fact that economic, monetary and fiscal policies of the government have been mainly responsible for inflation and ever-soaring prices of essential commodities in our country. Coupled with these policies is also the government policy refusing to introduce all out state trading in essential commodities leaving the monopolists, hoarders, speculators and black-marketeers free hands to create artificial scarcity of essential commodities and manipulate their prices to fleece the people. The outcome of these anti-people policies of the government and anti-social activities by unscrupulous business community has been steep fall in the real wages of workers in our country in

spite of some nominal monetary increase in wages. Even a body like National Commission on Labour set up by the India Government, which in its report had betrayed definite pro-employer anti-labour bias, was forced to conclude that "increase in money wages of industrial workers since independence have not been associated with a rise in real wages nor have real wage increases been commensurate with any improvement in productivity. Simultaneously, wage costs as a proportion of manufacture have registered a decline and the same is true about workers' share in value added by manufacture." In plain words this means that real wages of workers are in the decline and workers are being increasingly exploited. In the circumstances, it is preposterous to say that wages should be frozen, as the government and employers are suggesting.

The observation of the National Commission on Labour referred to by me brings us to the question of labour productivity in our country. It is very often contended by the government and employers that labour productivity in our country is very low and not remunerative. I strongly hold that it is not so. My contention is substantiated by facts as well as by the comment of a team of Japanese experts sent by Mitsubishi, one of the biggest monopoly Houses of Japan, to study industrial climate in our country, that "the Indian factory workers' efficiency should be assessed as 80 per cent of that of the skilled Japanese worker while the Indian wage level was 20 per cent of that of Japan." And in fact, productivity of labour in our country, contrary to what had been observed by the National Commission on

Labour in this regard, shows an upward trend. Between 1949 and 1964 value added by manufacture per worker in constant price had risen from Rs. 1729.1 to Rs. 3115.8, an increase of about 180.2 per cent. In the face of this fact it is a blatant lie to say that labour productivity in our country is not remunerative. Our working class operating modern machines can give and, in fact is giving as much efficiency or productivity as that of workers in advanced capitalist countries. Calculated relatively vis-a-vis wages paid, our workers are giving more efficiency than that of workers in advanced capitalist countries.

In this connection another point should be kept in mind. It is not man alone that gives productivity. Man working on machine gives productivity. Now if the machine is old, out-moded, obsolescent, you cannot expect high labour productivity. And this is exactly the case with almost all old industries in our country. A survey conducted under a scheme sponsored by the Reserve Bank of India about small scale engineering industry in West Bengal showed that plants and machines as old as fifty years were still in use and the percentage of such old machines to total machines was not small but quite high. The same may be said of many of the jute and cotton textile mills in our country. This is no accident. For, we all know that capitalists not only use modern techniques but also keep off from using advances of science and technology and take recourse of even manual labour, if the latter suits their purpose of reaping maximum profit. This explains the simultaneous presence of highly developed, sophisticated modern machines side by side with relatively backward techniques of production in

Restore Trade Union Unity and Develop United Struggles of Workers on Common Issues

capitalist countries. Our country is no exception to this general rule of capitalism.

I like to take up the third issue, namely, working class struggles and role of trade unions, now for discussion. Trade unions are class organisations of workers and their primary role, therefore, cannot but be to defend the interests of the working class. It goes without saying that interests of the working class do not exhaust themselves only in their economic interests; they certainly include political interests of the working class. Replacement of capitalist society, by socialist society, no doubt, is to the political interest of the working class. Hence, trade unions must play a correct role in propagating the idea of scientific socialism and properly training the working class so as to make them fit for struggles for the establishment of socialism. Unfortunately, in our country for long years trade unions have mostly practised economism utterly neglecting their essential responsibility of adequately and correctly politicalizing the working class. There is in our country a large number of trade union leaders who propagate the idea that trade unions should be free from politics. This by itself is politics and these trade union leaders want that workers should accept only these politics inimical to the genuine cause of the working class. I strongly feel that this pernicious idea has got to be fought.

Another point should also be touched. Trade unions, no doubt, should fight for workers' rights. But does not right presuppose duty? Rights without duty, without sense of social responsibility, without obligation to the people, are only privileges. The working class is in favour of all just and legitimate rights but is opposed

to all privileges not only of the vested interests but also of themselves, if any. In a spirit of self-criticism may I ask if we have taken pains to instil in our workers any sense of social responsibility and obligation to the people while preparing them for struggles to win rights. By and large we have not. Is it not a fact that corruption is rampant in government offices in our country? Is it not a fact that common men are badly harassed by officers and employees at government offices? Does not deliberate negligence on the part of officers and employees in general in government offices to carry out conscientiously their duties cause hardship and suffering to our people? Is not adulteration in food, medicines, etc. being carried out in mills and factories in our country? Have not the trade unions a duty to fight these evils? Have we trade union leaders, given so much time and energy as eradication of these vices? We have not. And the result has not been good. It cannot be denied that a section of our people, who should remain an ally of the working class in their struggles against the capitalists, have, for failure of our trade union movement to conduct movements against these vices eating into the very vitals of society, developed to some extent an apathy towards trade union movement.

Friends, I have come to the end of my speech. It is an undeniable fact that disruption exists in the international working class movement full advantage of which is being taken by the imperialists, to the great detriment of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Efforts should, therefore, be taken without

delay to restore unity of the international working class movement. In our country also disunity among trade unions and disruption in the ranks of the working class prevail. This has given an additional handle to the government and capitalists to mount increasing attacks on the hard-won rights of our workers and their living and working conditions. Victimization for trade union activities, large-scale retrenchment and lay-off, increase in work-load without commensurate increase in wages, cut in real wages, etc. are some of such attacks by the employer. The government also is mounting attacks on the workers. In some industries strikes have been banned already under the Maintenance of Essential Services Act. In other industries the government reserves the right to declare at any time any strike as illegal by declaring the industry as an essential service or a public utility concern either under the Maintenance of Essential Services Act or the Industrial Disputes Act. The government is also trying to impose moratorium on strikes, an indirect way of banning strikes. In fact, strikes are going to be completely banned. Then again, Police and even military are being used to break worker's struggles. Governments are dismissing their own employees under special Constitutional powers without charge-sheeting the employees and giving them any opportunity to defend themselves, thereby denying natural justice, on political consideration.

All these facts demand unity of our workers and united struggles by them against the attacks. For this it is necessary to develop

united struggles of workers belonging to different trade unions on common issues at the factory level on industry basis as also to move for unity of different national trade union organisations at the top to facilitate such united struggles at the bottom. About a year back, at this very place, at this YMCA tourist hotel, decision to this effect was taken. It is unfortunate that the AITUC, INTUC and HMS have thought it fit to leave that decision in cold storage and move together to the exclusion of other central trade union organisations in our country. We still feel that sincere efforts should be made by all to restore trade union unity and develop united struggles of workers on common issues. Sectarianism should be eschewed and philosophical tolerance of others' points of view so vital for developing united movements cultivated.

I thank all brother delegates for giving me a patient hearing. I thank the AITUC for arranging this Seminar and giving us an opportunity of expressing our views.

To All Subscribers

Due to acute financial stringency it is increasingly becoming difficult to publish this paper regularly. As such, all subscribers who have not yet cleared up their dues are requested to do so immediately. For those whose subscriptions are over, renewal of subscription is earnestly solicited—Ed. P.E.

Six Party Alliance Units Meet

The Six Party Alliance constituting of the SUCI, the CPI (M), RCPI, PDP, PTC, and RSP which unitedly fought the last general election in Assam held a meeting here on 14th May last.

The meeting adopted three resolutions. In the first resolution it strongly condemned escalation of aggressive war by the US imperialists in Vietnam. In the second resolution it urged upon the Central as well as the State Governments to stop all retrenchment now going on in the government offices, particularly in the P. W. D. as also to take up without any further delay

flood-control measures. In the third resolution the meeting demanded the lowering of land ceiling and distribution of the land vested in the state among poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers.

It was also decided that to create public opinion in favour of the above demands a convention will be held sometime in the month of July next.

T.U. Leaders Urge Govt. to Act Now

Berhampore, West Bengal, May 21—On the refusal by the management to meet some long-standing demands like payment of rainy season allowance, general increment, payment of cycle allowance etc., about one thousand and five hundred workers of the Tarapore & Co., a contractor firm doing the construction work of the feeder canal under Farakka Barrage Project, are on strike since 12th April last.

In spite of the management charge-sheeting innumerable workers and dismissing eleven of them and instituting false criminal cases against supervisors, the morale of the workers is very high and they are determined to carry on struggle till the demands are met. Not satisfied with dismissing the Vice-President, Assistant General Secretary and the Joint Secretaries of the Worker's Union, the management is now threatening lock-out.

The District Magistrate, Murshidabad, and the Labour Directorate made several attempts for conciliation. Resident Engineer, Mr. Kurpad, agreed to the proposal suggested by the District Magistrate for settlement of the dispute but the management subsequently, on the pressure of some other officers, refused to accept the proposal of the District Magistrate.

Leaders of the UTUC

(Lenin Sarani) have drawn the attention of the State Government to the adamant attitude of the management in not agreeing to the proposals of not only the District Magistrate but also the Labour Directorate. They have demanded arrest of the guilty officers under the MISA so that the dispute can be peacefully resolved and the construction of the feeder canal is not hampered.

Com. Banerjee Returned from Moscow

On the invitation of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR Com. Subodh Banerjee visited the Soviet Union as a representative of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) to attend the May Day celebration.

During his stay there he also visited Tbilisi, capital of the Georgian Republic and made a speech over Moscow radio urging upon all genuine communists throughout the world to restore unity of the world communist movement and solidarity of the Socialist

We Pay our Homage in Memory of Com. Adhikary

Comrade Bhabataran Adhikari, a responsible organiser of the SUCI in the district of Bankura in West Bengal, has been brutally murdered without any provocation by an armed gang of ruling Congress hoodlums at his native village of Meteli under Barjora Police Station. The Congress goondas attacked Comrade Adhikari with deadly weapons on 14th May last. In a precarious condition he was removed to Bankura Hospital where he expired on 18th May last. We convey our heart-felt sorrow to the members of Comrade Adhikari's family and pay our respectful homage to the deceased Comrade.

Murder of Com. Adhikari Condemned

Com. Nihar Mukherjee, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press in connection with the murder of Com. Bhabataran Adhikari by armed ruling Congress.

"On 14th May last, an armed gang of hoodlums belonging to the ruling Congress without provocation made a violent attack on Com. Bhabataran Adhikari and Com. Tarak Pakhira, two important organisers of our Party, at Meteli village under Barjora P.S. in the district of Bankura, injuring them seriously. They were removed to Bankura Hospital where Com. Adhikari succumbed to his injuries on 18th May last. Com. Pakhira is in a critical condition.

"We strongly condemn this dastardly act by Congress goondas and demand arrest and due punishment of the guilty persons. We pay revolutionary tribute to Com. Adhikari and convey our heart-felt sorrow to members of the bereaved family.

poor and landless peasants and agricultural labourers who have been conducting just democratic movements against these Jotedars under the banner of West Bengal Krishak & Khet Majoor Federation one of whose leaders was Com. Adhikari. It is also to be noted that when law demands punishment of the Jotedars for violation of legal provisions, the local police, in place of taking actions against them, are starting false cases against and arresting the peasants, agricultural labourers struggling for implementation of law. This pro-Jotedar attitude of the local police explains why the murderers have not been arrested as yet.

"We are confident that, though the loss of Com. Adhikari is an irreparable loss, the struggling rural poor of Meteli will not cease their just struggle and, on the contrary, will be more determined in carrying out the behest of Com. Adhikari and fulfilling his unfulfilled tasks."

"We cannot but recall that this murder has been committed in the background of continued violent attacks by the local Jotedars and anti-social elements belonging to the ruling Congress on the